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a city's walls uprising beneath the wonder-working touches of Apollo's lyre ? These, it is true, are fables, yet they shadow forth, beneath the veil of allegory, a profound truth. They beautifully proclaim the mysterious union between music, as an instrument of man's civilization, and the soul of man. Prophets and wise men, large-minded lawgivers of an olden time, understood and acted on this truth. The ancient oracles were uttered in song. The laws of the twelve tables were put to music, and got by heart at school. Minstrel and sage, are in some languages, convertible terms. Music is allied to the highest sentiments of man's moral nature, love of God, love of country, love of friends. Woe to the nation in which these sentiments are allowed to go to decay ! What tongue can tell the unutterable energies that reside in these three engines, Church Music, National Airs, and Fireside Melodies, as means of informing and enlarging the mighty heart of a free people ! ”

ART. IV. — *The History of Harvard University*, by JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., President of the University. Cambridge : John Owen. 1840. Royal 8vo. Vol. I. and II. pp. 612, 728.

ON the 8th day of September, 1836, *came off* one of the most interesting public celebrations that have occurred in this commemorative time. Fourteen or fifteen hundred graduates of the oldest of the higher schools of instruction in this country, the University at Cambridge,* in Massachusetts, met within its walls, to notice, with suitable solemnities and festivity, the completion of the second century since its foundation.

* The President calls his work a History of “ *Harvard University*.” The designation is partly matter of taste, and as this, we confess, does not suit ours, we hope it will not pass into established use. The corporation whose legal style is *The President and Fellows of Harvard College* are the legal Trustees and Governors of the University at Cambridge, now constituted of that College, and of the recently established colleges of Medicine, Divinity, and Law. But it strikes us that there is a propriety in restricting the name of *Harvard* to the ancient academical school, while the Law College bears the name of *Dane*, the Medical, that of *Massachusetts*, and the Divinity College awaits its designation from some future patron. The title and text of chapter V. of the Constitution of Massachusetts (the highest form of legal authority, both recite the name of the *University at Cambridge*. They speak of Harvard College as identical with it, as, in a certain sense, it then was ; but of *Harvard University* they do not speak.

The arrangements had been made in the most judicious and thorough manner, and nothing was wanting of all that heart could wish, to do justice to so delightful an occasion. Early in the forenoon, the Alumni and their guests had assembled in the halls of the University ;

“There were venerable and reverend divines, — grave and dignified judges, — statesmen and lawyers, — learned, intellectual, and eminent men of other professions and pursuits in life, — exchanging cordial salutations after years of separation. There were the young and ardent, looking forward in imagination to a brilliant future, and men of maturer age pleased with the retrospection of the past. The greetings of companions of early days, the efforts at recognition, the fond and fervent recollections not untinged with melancholy, which the meeting occasioned, the inquiries more implied than uttered after the absent, the inquisitive glances, rather than words, by which each seemed to ask of the other's welfare, constituted a scene not to be forgotten by any individual who witnessed it.” — Vol. II. pp. 646, 647.

“When the Chief Marshal [in forming the procession to the church] named the classes of the Alumni, it was deeply interesting to mark the result. The class of 1759 was called, but their only representative, and the eldest surviving Alumnus, Judge Wingate, of New Hampshire, being ninety-six years of age, was unable to attend. The classes from 1763 to 1773 were successively named, but solemn pauses succeeded ; they had all joined the great company of the departed, or, sunk in the vale of years, were unable to attend the high festival of their Alma Mater. At length, when the class of 1774 was named, Mr. Samuel Emery came forward ; a venerable old man, a native of Chatham, Barnstable County, Massachusetts, who, at the age of eighty-six, after an absence of sixty years from the Halls of Harvard, had come from his residence in Philadelphia to attend this celebration. The Rev. Dr. Ripley, of Concord, of the class of 1776, and the Rev. Dr. Homer, of Newton, of the class of 1777, were followed by the Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester, and the Rev. Mr. Willis, of Kingston, of the class of 1778 ; and, as modern times were approached, instead of solitary individuals, twenty or thirty members of a class appeared at the summons.” — *Ibid.*, p. 648.

In the church, an historical discourse was pronounced by the President, and appropriate prayers were offered by two of the oldest clerical graduates. The company next proceeded to a pavilion, where tables were spread, at which Gov-

ernor Everett presided. An extract or two from his speech in introducing the after-dinner transactions, will convey some idea of the spirit of the occasion.

“Brethren, there were some recollections of the early history of the College which I intended to recall to you, but our worthy President has taken all that ground from beneath me. He has reaped the field, and left nothing for the gleaner. In fact, it is an occasion when, oppressed by the multitude of thick-coming fancies that crowd upon the mind, one is far less inclined to speak than to muse. An ingenious and accomplished Italian writer has constructed a kind of philosophical romance on the idea, that the whole Roman world of ancient times, the emperors, consuls, and tribunes, the poets, the orators, the great and wise of every generation, had appeared to him, in shadowy conclave, at the newly discovered sepulchre of the Scipios, and wandered under his guidance over the ancient and modern city. As the long procession of the Alumni swept through the academic grounds this morning, extending from one extremity of the time-hallowed precincts to the other, one could almost fancy that he saw also the mighty congregation, the three thousand, of the departed, (with old President Dunster at their head, starting from the tomb in yonder graveyard, in which, as you told us, Mr. President, it was his dying request to be deposited,) return to take their station in front of the train. They dwelt in yonder halls, they walked these pleasant fields, their minds were trained up under the influences which still hover in the air ; is it much to fancy that they had come back to join us in these festivities? Yes, brethren, but little less than five thousand four hundred alumni have received the honors of Harvard College. It has stood for more than six generations; by far the oldest institution of this character in the United States. It has stood unchanged, except to be enlarged and improved, and reared its modest head amidst the storms which convulsed alike the mother country and the colonies. Neither the straits and perils of the infant settlement, nor the harassing Indian and French wars, nor the political vicissitudes, the sectarian feuds, the neglect, the indifference, or hostility of England toward America, the trials of peace or of war, essentially obstructed the steady course of its usefulness. It has adapted itself, in each succeeding period, to the wants and calls of the age, as they have been felt and understood, and has sent out generation after generation in the various professions, in the active and contemplative callings, in the higher and the humbler paths of life, to serve and adorn the country. The village schoolmaster, the rural physician, lawyer, and

clergyman, — ministers all of unambitious good, — not less than those whom Providence calls to the most arduous and responsible posts, have been trained within its walls. They have come up here for instruction, have received it, have gone forth, and have passed away ; the children have occupied the halls which the fathers occupied before them, and both have been mingled with the dust ; and here the College, which guided them all till they were ready to launch on the ocean of life, still stands like a Pharos founded on a sea-girt rock. The moss of time gathers on it ; the waters heave and break upon its base ; the tempest beats upon its sides ; but in vain. Sometimes its lofty tower is reflected fathom-deep in the glassy summer sea, and sometimes covered with the foaming surge, which combs and curls from its foundation, and breaks in a vaulting flood over its summit. Unquenched and steady it shines alike through the tempest and the zephyr. Convoys sweep by it, guided by its beams to fortune or disaster, but its light never wavers. The hand that kindles it fails, but another and another renews its beams. Useful alike to small and to great, the poor fisherman marks its friendly ray from afar, as he shoots out at dusk to try the fortune of a lonely evening hour upon his favorite ledge ; and the mighty admiral descries it, through the parting thunder-clouds of midnight battle, and fearlessly braces his straining canvass to the gale.’ ” — *Ibid.*, pp. 652 – 654.

“ ‘ If, in any other quarter of the globe, it has been objected to seats of learning, that they nourish a spirit of dependence on power, such has never been the reproach of our Alma Mater. Owing much, at every period before the Revolution, to the munificence of individuals in the mother country, it never was indebted to the Crown for a dollar or a book. No court favor was ever bestowed, and no court lesson ever learned. Generation after generation went forth from her lecture-rooms, armed in all the panoply of truth, to wage the battles of principle, alike under the old charter and the new ; and, when the fullness of time was come, and the great contest approached, the first note of preparation was sounded from Harvard Hall. Yes, before the Stamp Act was passed ; yes, before Committees of Correspondence were established throughout the colonies ; before Otis had shaken the courts with his forensic thunders ; before a breath of defiance had whispered along the arches of Faneuil Hall, a graduate of Harvard College announced in his Thesis, on Commencement day, the whole doctrine of the Revolution. Yes, in the very dawn of independence, while the lions of the land yet lay slumbering in the long shadows of the throne, an eaglet, bred in the delicate air of freedom which fanned the academic groves, had, from his “ coigne

of vantage " on yonder tower, drunk the first rosy sparkle of the sun of liberty into his calm, undazzled eye, and whetted his talons for the conflict. Within the short space of twenty-three years, there were graduated at Harvard College six men, who exercised an influence over the country's destinies, which no time shall outlive. Within that brief period, there were sent forth from yonder walls, James Otis, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Josiah Quincy, — besides Samuel and John Adams, "*geminus duo fulmina belli.*" " — *Ibid.*, p. 658.

There is an exuberance in these passages, no doubt ; but their effect, when pronounced, was such as is rarely seen equalled. Other eminent *alumni*, with some distinguished strangers, their guests, contributed their gifts of speech to the pleasure of the occasion, and the day was closed with an illumination of the College edifices, and of other principal buildings of the town.

The time occupied by the President with his Address in the church was necessarily insufficient for an exhibition of the history of the two centuries which had elapsed, and his sketch was for the most part confined to the time preceding the accession of President Leverett, in 1708. It accordingly extended only through part of the second of the periods indicated in the following division ;

“ “ The events which have affected the fortunes of Harvard College, during the last two centuries, may be advantageously arranged and considered, in relation to four great periods ; each embracing about fifty years. The first period terminates with the College charter, granted in 1692 by the first Provincial legislature, assembled under the charter of King William and Queen Mary. The second extends from this time to the accession of Holyoke to the presidency, in 1736. The third includes the succeeding years to the accession of Willard, in 1780. The fourth embraces the time subsequent.

“ “ During the first period, the College was conducted as a theological institution, in strict coincidence with the nature of the political constitution of the colony ; having religion for its basis and chief object. Although the charter of the College gave it no sectarian bias, it was, without question, regarded by both the clergy and the politicians of the period, as an instrument destined to promote and perpetuate the religious opinions predominating at the time. The seminary, during this period, will be seen amidst poverty and suffering ; depending for its existence on a precarious, and often a penurious, benev-

olence ; soliciting aid, and repulsed ; in want, and its own funds withheld ; in distress, and relief denied or postponed ; sometimes tossed on the waves of political, sometimes on those of religious controversy, and, amidst the conflicts of both, raising as high as the times required, or its resources permitted, the standard of the literature of the country.

“ ‘In the second period, bitter controversies will be found springing up between those religious parties, into which the Congregational sect divided immediately after the new principle of political power introduced by the charter of William and Mary had deprived it of that supremacy, which the old charter had secured to the Congregational clergy. Of these the College was often the field and sometimes the object. In consequence, its sky was occasionally obscured, and its progress embarrassed. It regularly, however, advanced under new and not inferior auspices. High Calvinists, indeed, regarded it with diminishing favor, and even began to look elsewhere for instruments to propagate their sentiments and extend their power. But new friends to it arose ; its usefulness became acknowledged ; and its resources increased.

“ ‘In the third period, the divisions of the Congregational sect grew wider and more marked. They prosecuted their animosities, notwithstanding, with a subdued temper, partly from experience of the unprofitableness of such controversies, and partly from a fear, entertained in common by all the parties formed out of those divisions, of the increasing power of the Episcopalian sect ; which, at this time, began to display its standard with great boldness, supported by the favor and funds of the transatlantic hierarchy. While the leaders of each division were actually engaged in one common cause, they naturally composed or treated with a politic tenderness, their mutual differences. The political aspect of affairs began also, early in this period, to foretell the coming revolutionary tempest. Amid the preparations for the contest, which led to national independence, religious animosities were suspended ; nor was their voice heard during the din and excitement of that struggle. In the mean time the College was permitted to remain in a state of comparative tranquillity ; viewed, indeed, by some of the Calvinistic sect with coldness and jealousy, and its officers charged by some with being Arminians, and even suspected of more fearful heresies. Embracing, however, as the College did with equal warmth and openness, the cause of American Independence, it at the same time acquired a well-deserved popularity, and shared, in common with all the other institutions of the country, the pecuniary losses and embarrassment consequent on that contest.

“ ‘ During the fourth and last period, extending to our own time, the College, now raised to the rank of a University, partook with the country at large, of the vicissitudes following the war, and subsequently of the prosperity, which ensued upon the adoption of the federal Constitution, and on an orderly arrangement of State and national affairs. ’ ” — Vol. 1. pp. 3–5.

That account of the College, which its children and friends have impatiently desired, and which it was out of the question to attempt in two hours of speech, the President has now presented in two splendid volumes of letter-press. Before proceeding to speak of their contents, we must not fail to discharge our consciences by one word of tribute to the beauty of their mechanical execution. As far as we know, nothing in a style of such completeness and luxury has before proceeded from the American press. The very paper, — not made of what is called in the trade *linen stock*, but every inch of it of veritable flax, — is worthy to bear the tasteful and almost immaculate typography. Such a specimen of art is to be welcomed not only for the pleasure it gives to the eye, but because, everywhere, where there are men of taste, it speaks for the honor of the country that has produced it. Nay ; let us have our books well printed, to the end that we may have them well written. A writer, not shameless, will be apt to think twice before he commits his thoughts to such a magnificent vehicle. We see pages, whose slovenly manufacture is an intimation that the authors can have felt no scruple about filling them with trash. To dress in one's best, on the contrary, is, for composition as well as for men, a kind of pledge to the public of putting one's self on good behaviour.

The 8th day of September, 1836, was fixed upon for the commemoration of the foundation of Harvard College, as being the two hundredth anniversary of the meeting of that General Court of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in the records of whose proceedings stands the following entry ;

“ The Court agreed to give four hundred pounds toward a School or College, whereof two hundred pounds shall be paid the next year, and two hundred pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building.”

This appropriation, “ equal to a year's rent of the whole colony,” was made under the following circumstances ;

“ They waited not for days of affluence, of peace, or even

of domestic concord. The first necessities of civilized man, food, raiment, and shelter, had scarcely been provided ; civil government and the worship of God had alone been instituted, when the great interests of education engaged their attention. Their zeal was not repressed by the narrowness of their territorial limits, not yet extending thirty miles on the seacoast, nor twenty into the interior ; nor yet by the terror of a savage enemy, threatening the very existence of the settlement ; nor by the claims on their scanty resources, which an impending Indian war created ; nor by the smallness of their numbers, certainly then not exceeding five thousand families ; nor yet by the most unhappy and most ominous to their tranquillity of all, the religious disputes, in which they were ever implicated.” — *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The next year, the General Court determined the site of the proposed school, by appointing a Committee of twelve leading men “to take order for a College at *Newtown*,” the name of which town was soon after changed to *Cambridge*, in compliment to the *Alma Mater* of many of the early colonists.* In 1638, John Harvard, a dissenting minister, who had recently emigrated to Charlestown, bequeathed by will to the College his library, and one half of his other property ; that half amounting, as has been differently understood, to four hundred, or to eight hundred pounds. The College went into operation the same year, and the first class, consisting of nine members, (one of them the afterwards famous or infamous George Downing, of *Commonwealth* memory,) finished its course of instruction in 1642. The example of Harvard excited to other private benefactions. Numbers gave, in the measure of their unanimous good-will, and of their unequal means. The magistrates made a subscription among themselves of two hundred pounds for the library. The towns brought their separate contributions ; the richer sort of people gave their twenty or thirty pounds each ; the poorer their five or ten shillings. One sends his two cows, valued at nine pounds ; another, nine shillings in cotton cloth ; one, “a fruit-dish, sugar-spoon, and silver-tipt jug ;” another, “one pewter flagon, valued at ten shillings.” The Commissioners of the United Colonies, on the urgent application of Dunster in 1651,

* According to our curiously accurate historian, Mr. Savage, there were, in 1638, not less than forty or fifty sons of the English University of Cambridge, resident in the settlements of New England.

promised "to propound to the several Colonies, to give some yearly help, by pecks, half-bushels, and bushels, of wheat."

The first master, Nathaniel Eaton, proved unsuitable to his place, and was dismissed after two years' trial. Of some of his misdemeanors (which are passed over by the President), as well as of those of his wife, a sufficient account may be found by the curious reader in the Appendix to Peirce's "*History of Harvard University*." Eaton was succeeded in 1640 by Henry Dunster, who first took the title of "President"; and Dunster, after fourteen years' service, gave place to Charles Chauncy, who died in the office after an administration of eighteen years. Both the first Presidents, clergymen in England before their emigration, were men of excellent abilities and character, and eminent in the learning of the time. Both lived pinched by wants which the penury of the infant settlement could not, or did not properly relieve, and both, — a coincidence more remarkable, — made a heavy demand on whatever of the spirit of toleration belonged to their associates, by reason of their notorious heresies on the subject of baptism. Dunster, by his stubbornness in this respect, wore out his popularity, and was worried into a resignation. He died at Scituate, the same good and meek man that he had lived, bequeathing his body to the burying-ground by the College, and naming his successor in the Presidency, and the Cambridge minister, who had been at all pains for his ejection, "appraisers of his library," some of the books, he says, "being in languages, whereof common Englishmen know not one letter." Thus it must be owned that the lot of the first laborers on our *rerum pulcherrima* was no better than (to use language of the President) "thankless labor, unrequited service, arrearages unpaid, posthumous applause, a doggerel dirge, and a Latin epitaph." The College, however, they did excellently well establish; and this they would have thought, and might well think, enough to live for, though they had died in the woods, and been buried in a ditch, and not a Latin period had been turned in their praise. The spot in "God's acre" at Cambridge, that holds the sacred dust of Dunster, is unknown. A modest monument guides the pilgrim's feet to the resting-place of what was mortal of Chauncy.

The administrations of Hoar, Oakes, and Rogers, — all of

short duration, and marked by no events of particular interest, — succeeded, and were followed by that of Increase Mather, which lasted fifteen years, and closed the century.

In treating of the times of President Mather and his son, — who, though he never attained the presidency, was always expecting it, and was sometimes very near it, — Mr. Quincy is led to many curious details respecting the movements and men of the day in the religious and political circles of this “outside of the world.” The Mather blood was undoubtedly of very peculiar composition, and he has good powers of analysis who can point out its elements. Increase Mather was not only by nature an extraordinary man, — that his son was too, and in a still higher degree, — but an extremely able one. In temper he was arrogant, ambitious, vain, and irritable, and he was a believer in all the superstitions of the day ; but in book-learning, in knowledge of affairs, in activity, energy, even in practical address and wisdom, and in power of influencing the minds of men, he was far enough from being deficient. His position was one, the like of which man never held before nor since. He was the head of the New England clergy, and accordingly the head of the old political interest, at the time when the rising colonies first attracted particular attention from the government at home, and when the progress of new views in religion and politics had unsettled the foundations of the old *régime*. It would be wrong to say that he was too impracticable to accommodate himself to the new state of things. He could, and did, — though, it is true, with no little struggle, and with no good grace, — particularly in the most important, and (at the time) most unpopular act of his life. Odd as the comparison may seem, Increase Mather was the Henry Clay of his day, the Great Pacificator, the author of the great Compromise Act. On his embassy to England, to look after the safety of the old charter, when threatened by William and Mary, he went the very impersonation of the highest notions of clerical prerogative. Under that charter, the rights of citizenship being vested in church members, who became such by the consent of the ministers, the ministers were the virtual rulers of the country ; and yet Mather, jealous champion of clerical rights as he was, consented to take another charter making the elective franchise to depend on a property qualification, besides vesting the appointment of the governor in the Crown. His popularity

never recovered from the shock. Plymouth could not forgive him the offence of annexing it to its more powerful neighbour. The more liberal party in religion had always held him in particular dislike ; the stricter now regarded him as a traitor to their cause ; while all alike were indignant at no longer having "their rulers from themselves, and their governors from the midst of them."

But what Mather did, in this instance, was done for the best. Perhaps it would be too much to suppose him to have seen, — what however was true, — that the old charter ought not to be confirmed. But he saw that it was out of the question to suppose that it would be. He knew that the feeble colony was not ripe for an assertion of independence, and that, if it was ever to become so, it must be through a period of security acquired by a peaceable settlement under the government of the mother country. Like a wise man, not being able to get what he wished, he took up with what he could get. Cooke, his associate, came back to be loaded with praises for an impracticableness, which, had it not been overruled, would have ended in some much more meagre grant of privileges, or in leaving the Colony, without legal protection, to the mercy of some future ignorant or capricious wearer of the Crown ; and the Plymouth messenger to King William, who was so much annoyed by the arrogant antics of *the Bay horse*, would, without doubt, if more judicious and conciliating counsels had not prevailed, have returned to his home to see it passing not under the congenial sway of English Puritan Massachusetts, but under that of semi-Dutch New York. It is no new thing under the sun for a man, taking easy counsel of his passions and prejudices, to behave very foolishly on many of the smaller occasions of life, while in the more important he conducts himself with wisdom and temper ; and so did President Mather on that occasion, the results of which, — for want of power, on his part, to keep up the same tone of feeling, — broke him down, for the rest of his life, into something like the attitude of an unquiet and impotent grumbler.

Increase Mather, under strong solicitation, had consented to honor the College, and benefit the Colony, by filling the Presidential chair. But it was only as a sort of joint stool to his parochial seat in Boston. He refused to reside, and was President after his own manner and liking, riding over as

often as he might, or pleased, from town, to see how matters went on at the College, under the care of Tutors Leverett and Brattle. Though occasionally, there was scruple and complaint, on the whole, things proceeded to a charm, as long as "all that David did pleased the people." But when the days of unpopularity came, it came to be seen with new clearness, that the good of the institution required a present head, and that the incumbent ought to reside or resign. With many misgivings, the authorities came to this conclusion; with many more, they worked themselves up to an intimation of it; and after all, they found that but a small part of their work was done. The President had been Dictator long enough to esteem it his particular charge to see that the republic should receive no detriment. It was a weary while before they could make him understand them; it was longer yet, before they could bring him to perceive that what they thought or willed was any serious concern of his. Sometimes he argued the case with them, not always with the appearance of any anxiety to produce conviction; sometimes he filed away their resolutions, and there, for the present, was an end of the matter; sometimes he said he should resign, and they waited in patient courtesy to see it done; once he quieted every thing by moving to Cambridge, and moved back again within a few weeks. At last, a strong vote made the decision unavoidable between the place of College governor and parish priest, and the President made a merit of his spirit of accommodation, and withdrew. His cup was not full. He was compelled to see, with astonished eyes, that he had held the sceptre in "an unlineal hand, no son of his succeeding." What was sadder yet, he was forced to behold the College pass under the care of that innovating party in religion, of which he had always been the indefatigable foe. And what was bitterest of all, as being most in the nature of a sign how his old consideration had waned, he had to learn that he had been gotten rid of by a no longer veiled pretence. Another Boston minister, placed in the vacant chair, was permitted to remain in the service of his church. The law requiring the President to reside, to which Mather had been obliged to succumb, was neither broken nor repealed; but wherever there is a will, there is a way, and Willard, Mather's successor, under the anomalous title of *Vice-President*,

lived in Boston, and governed the College to the end of his days.

The character of Increase Mather is no such riddle as that of Cotton, his son, and colleague in the pastoral charge. Never surely was there so liberal an infusion of the weak and ridiculous into a mind possessed of singular gifts. We have lately treated the subject at some length,* and we do not care again to go about to solve the strange problems of his genius and behaviour. In respect to his connexion with the witchcraft delusion, we cannot but think that the less severe view of Mr. Quincy is more just than that lately presented by Mr. Bancroft in his third volume. That Cotton Mather should be capable of almost any thing that puerile superstition, obstinate prejudice, or blind passion might prompt, we can well understand. But we do not see reason to convict him of having concocted, or entered into, so unspeakably atrocious a plot as that of exciting a terror of evil supernatural agency, and feeding and maddening that panic with so much innocent blood, for the distinct purpose of checking the progress of free inquiry in religion.

Such imperfect materials as remain for ascertaining the internal condition of the College, during the seventeenth century, Mr. Quincy has diligently collected.

“In relation to the course of studies, and the degree of literary instruction in the seminary during this period, little exact and authentic information exists. ‘So much Latin as was sufficient to understand Tully, or any like classical author, and to make and speak true Latin, in prose and verse, and so much Greek as was included in declining perfectly the paradigms of the Greek nouns and verbs,’ were the chief, if not the only requisites for admission. The exercises of the students had the aspect of a theological rather than a literary institution. They were practised twice a day in reading the Scriptures, giving an account of their proficiency and experience in practical and spiritual truths, accompanied by theoretical observations on the language, and logic, of the sacred writings. They were carefully to attend God’s ordinances, and be examined on their profiting; commonplacing the sermons and repeating them publicly in the hall. The studies of the first year were ‘logic, physics, etymology, syntax, and practice on the principles of grammar.’ Those of the second year, ‘ethics, politics, pros-

* See *North American Review*, Vol. LI. pp. 1 *et seq.*

ody and dialects, practice of poesy, and Chaldee.' Those of the third, 'arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, exercises in style, composition, epitome, both in prose and verse, Hebrew, and Syriac.'

"In every year and every week of the College course, every class was practised in the Bible and catechetical divinity; also in history in the winter, and in the nature of plants in the summer. Rhetoric was taught by lectures in every year, and each student was required to declaim once a month.

"Such were the principles of education established in the College under the authority of Dunster. Nor does it appear, that they were materially changed during the whole of the seventeenth century."—Vol. i. pp. 190, 191.

* * * * *

"Discipline, unquestionably, partook of the austerity of the period, and was in harmony with the character of the early emigrants. Tradition represents it to have been severe, and corporal punishments to have been among the customary sanctions of College laws. The immediate government kept no record of their proceedings. The tutors chastised at discretion, and on very solemn occasions the Overseers were called together, either to authorize or to witness the execution of the severer punishments. Judge Sewall, in his *Diary*, relates an instance of the mode in which these were inflicted, illustrative of the manners of the age, and of the discipline of the College. It occurred in 1674. The offence was 'speaking blasphemous words.' After examination by the Corporation, the offence was submitted to the Overseers for advisement. The offender was sentenced to be 'publicly whipped before all the scholars,' to be 'suspended from taking his bachelor's degree,' and 'to sit alone by himself uncovered at meals during the pleasure of the President and Fellows,' to be obedient in all things, and, in default, to be finally expelled from the College. The execution of the sentence was no less characteristic than its nature. It was twice read publicly in the Library, in the presence of all the scholars, the government, and such of the Overseers as chose to attend. The offender having kneeled, the President prayed, after which the corporal punishment was inflicted; and the solemnities were closed by another prayer from the President."—*Ibid.*, pp. 188, 189.

The high personal qualifications of Vice-President Willard, combined with his relation to the religious parties, —sympathizing as he did with the stricter in theory, and with the more liberal in spirit, —enabled him to manage the institution to general satisfaction, till his death in 1707. He was succeeded by John Leverett, whose ac-

cession to a place which he filled with eminent ability for seventeen years, constitutes one of the most memorable eras in the College history. Mr. Quincy speaks of his election as "the call of a *layman* to a chair, that had never before been occupied except by a clergyman." Leverett was a layman ; but in a sense which leads to no such inference respecting a disposition on the part of the governors of the College to dispense with clerical qualifications in a President, as the naked statement of the fact might suggest. He had been a judge, a counsellor, and Speaker of the lower house ; and for the academic robe he put off the uniform of lieutenant of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. But all this was at a time when clerical offices were not considered so inconsistent with civil or even with military place, as now. It was still later than the time of his election to the Presidency, that Gurdon Saltonstall, a parish minister, was made Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Colony of Connecticut. Leverett had been bred a clergyman, and for several years of his early manhood, he had, while Tutor of the College, performed duties appropriate to the sacred office. He easily returned to them as President ; nor can his elevation, under such circumstances, to that chair, be regarded as any substantial deviation, at so early a time, from the primitive usage.

Leverett was equal to the exigencies of his position, and they were of peculiar embarrassment. He came into place as the representative of less rigid notions in religion, which had long before been working their way, and which had received a new impulse, from the time when the new charter had dealt a mortal blow to the power of church-members, and, through them, of the clergy. The Mathers, who had not yet learned to be second to any one, or to be less than irreconcilable enemies to whoever was first, had ample means of annoyance within the reach of their talents, their professional and public standing, and their ancient associations with the College. Many of the leading men of the day were bigots to the waning form of faith, and its friends acted together with a union and confidence unknown to the rising party. Yale College in Connecticut was founded, in great part (as Mr. Quincy has shown), through the exertions of disaffected individuals in and about Boston. An attempt, long and vigorously urged, but unsuccessfully, was made to displace the President's associates in the Corporation, and to establish, as

the true interpretation of the charter, the principle that only resident instructors were eligible to that trust. Through these, and many more difficulties, President Leverett steered the College forward on a prosperous course. He secured the patronage of the Legislature to an unprecedented extent for the institution, when he could not secure their favor for himself. At a time of general embarrassment, when the wars of Queen Anne had laid heavy burdens on the public treasury, and the easy resource of irredeemable paper money was working its usual mischiefs, the Province made its "deep poverty abound to the riches of its liberality," and, at the cost of three thousand five hundred pounds, erected for the institution its third building, *Massachusetts Hall*, the oldest now standing. One of the largest fountains of that stream of private munificence which has since poured upon the College, was then also opened in the bounty of the Hollis family, of London; Thomas Hollis, in addition to other noble donations, having founded the first two Professorships, those of Divinity and Mathematics. The instruction had all been conducted heretofore by the President and Tutors.

Cotton Mather's hopes of the Presidency were very tenacious of life, and his discontent was extreme, when, after Leverett's death, three other Boston clergymen, — Sewall, Colman, and Wadsworth, the last of whom accepted the place, — were successively preferred to himself.

" 'This day,' he writes [in his diary], 'Dr. Sewall was chosen President *for his piety*.'

" 'In another place he thus gives scope to his feelings; 'I am informed that yesterday the six men who call themselves the Corporation of the College met, and, contrary to the epidemic expectation of the country, chose a modest young man, of whose piety (and little else) every one gives a laudable character.

" 'I always foretold these two things of the Corporation; first, that, if it were possible for them to steer clear of me, they will do so; secondly, that, if it were possible for them to act foolishly, they will do so.

" 'The perpetual envy with which my essays to serve the kingdom of God are treated among them, and the dread that Satan has of my beating up his quarters at the College, led me into the former sentiment; the marvellous indiscretion, with which the affairs of the College are managed, led me into the latter.' " — Vol. i. pp. 330, 331.

We extract a few passages illustrative of the methods of correction, and other academical usages, of this period.

“Previous to the accession of Leverett to the presidency, the practice of obliging the undergraduates to read portions of the Scriptures from Latin or English into Greek, at morning and evening service, had been discontinued. But in January and May, 1708, this ‘ancient and laudable practice was revived’ by the Corporation. At morning prayers all the undergraduates were ordered, beginning with the youngest, to read a verse out of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Greek, except the Freshmen, who were permitted to use their English Bibles in this exercise; and, at evening service, to read from the New Testament out of the English or Latin translation into Greek, whenever the President performed this service in the Hall.

“Early in the presidency of Wadsworth this exercise was again discontinued, and ordered to be performed by the classes at the chambers of their respective tutors.

“The morning service began with a short prayer; then a chapter of the Old Testament was read, which the President expounded, and concluded with prayer. The evening service was the same, except that the chapter read was from the New Testament, and on Saturday a psalm was sung in the Hall. On Sunday exposition was omitted; a psalm was sung morning and evening; and one of the scholars, in course, was called upon to repeat, in the evening, the sermons preached on that day. On the Sabbath, public worship was attended in the parish church, where the undergraduates occupied the front gallery; and none were excused on account of difference in religious sentiment.

“President Wadsworth in his Diary states, that he expounded the Scriptures, once eleven, and sometimes eight or nine times, in the course of a week. The President’s duty embraced these exercises, general inspection of the conduct and morals of the students, presiding at the meetings of the Corporation and immediate government, recording their proceedings, and attending the meetings of the Overseers. He was occasionally present at the weekly declamations and public disputations, and then acted as moderator; an office, which, in his absence, was filled by one of the Tutors.

“The College course occupied four years, and the undergraduates were divided and distinguished as at present, into four classes, Senior Sophisters, Junior Sophisters, Sophomores, and Freshmen. The Freshmen class were servitors to the whole College out of study hours, to go on errands. Every

student, on admission, was required to copy out and subscribe the College laws.

“The regular exercises are thus stated in an official report, made in 1726, by Tutors Flynt, Welsted, and Prince.

“ ‘ 1. While the students are Freshmen, they commonly recite the Grammars, and with them a recitation in Tully, Virgil, and the Greek Testament, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays, in the morning and forenoon ; on Friday morning Dugard’s or Farnaby’s Rhetoric, and on Saturday morning the Greek Catechism ; and, towards the latter end of the year, they dispute on Ramus’s Definitions, Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon.

“ ‘ 2. The Sophomores recite Burgersdicius’s Logic, and a manuscript called New Logic, in the mornings and forenoons ; and towards the latter end of the year Heereboord’s Meletemata, and dispute Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoon, continuing also to recite the classic authors, with Logic and Natural Philosophy ; on Saturday mornings they recite Wollebius’s Divinity.

“ ‘ 3. The Junior Sophisters recite Heereboord’s Meletemata, Mr. Morton’s Physics, More’s Ethics, Geography, Metaphysics, in the mornings and forenoons ; Wollebius on Saturday morning ; and dispute Mondays and Tuesdays in the forenoons.

“ ‘ 4. The Senior Sophisters, besides Arithmetic, recite Allsted’s Geometry, Gassendus’s Astronomy, in the morning ; go over the Arts towards the latter end of the year, Ames’s Medulla on Saturdays, and dispute once a week.’ ” — Vol. I. pp. 439 – 441.

* * * * *

“Mr. Flynt, in his commonplace-book, thus records an instance of College punishment for stealing poultry.

“ ‘ Nov. 4th, 1717. Three scholars were publicly admonished for thievery, and one degraded below five in his class, because he had been before publicly admonished for card-playing. They were ordered by the President into the middle of the Hall (while two others, concealers of the theft, were ordered to stand up in their places, and spoken to there). The crime they were charged with was first declared, and then laid open as against the law of God and the House, and they were admonished to consider the nature and tendency of it, with its aggravations ; and all, with them, were warned to take heed and regulate themselves, so that they might not be in danger of so doing for the future ; and those, who consented to the theft, were admonished to beware, lest God tear them in pieces

according to the text. They were then fined, and ordered to make restitution twofold for each theft.' ” — *Ibid.*, p. 443.

* * * * *

“ It was the custom, during the presidency of Wadsworth, on Commencement day, for the Governor of the Province to come from Boston through Roxbury, often by the way of Wadertown, attended by his body guards, and to arrive at the College about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. A procession was then formed of the Corporation, Overseers, magistrates, ministers, and invited gentlemen, and immediately moved from Harvard Hall to the Congregational church. The exercises of the day began with a short prayer by the President ; a salutatory oration in Latin, by one of the graduating class, succeeded ; then disputations on theses or questions in Logic, Ethics, and Natural Philosophy commenced. These were generally three, and were printed, and distributed on Commencement day. Each question was maintained and defended by a respondent, and every member of the graduating class, the respondents and orators alone excepted, was obliged to adduce publicly at least one opposing argument. When the disputation terminated, one of the candidates pronounced a Latin ‘ gratulatory oration.’ The graduating class were then called, and, after asking leave of the Governor and Overseers, the President conferred the Bachelors’ degree, by delivering a book to the candidates (who came forward successively in parties of four), and pronouncing a form of words in Latin. An adjournment then took place to dinner, in Harvard Hall ; from thence the procession returned to the church, and, after the Masters’ disputations, usually three in number, were finished, their degrees were conferred, with the same general forms as those of the Bachelors. An occasional address was then made by the President. A Latin valedictory oration by one of the Masters succeeded, and the exercises concluded with a prayer by the President. The students then escorted the Governor, Corporation, and Overseers, in procession, to the President’s house, and thus closed the ceremonies of the day.

“ In July, 1728, when William Burnett arrived as Governor of Massachusetts, he was ‘ waited upon by the Corporation, to salute him, wish him assistance and prosperity in his government, to ask his smiles on the College, and the honor of waiting upon him there.’ On the 21st of August ensuing he accordingly visited the College, accompanied from Boston by two members of the Corporation ; and, being met by two others, the Professors and Tutors, and Masters of Arts, a mile from the College, he was received by the President and the two remaining members of the Corporation at the library. The Governor was

there addressed in Latin by a Senior Bachelor, and made a short answer in the same language ; and, after having gone to Tutor Flynt's chamber and ' the Mathematical Professor's, where he saw an experiment,' he dined, with about fifty other guests, in the library with the President and Fellows.

" The visit of Governor Belcher to the College appears, according to its records, to have been attended with like ceremonies. He was, on the 9th of September, 1730, escorted to Cambridge by ' a military troop, then waited on by two companies of foot.' When he arrived at the College, after ' having been awhile at Mr. Flynt's chamber, the bell tolled, and the scholars assembled in the Hall, into which the Governor and Corporation having entered, Mr. Hobby made a Latin oration, and his Excellency made a very handsome answer in Latin. This done, and his Excellency the Governor, his Majesty's Council, the Tutors, Professors, and sundry gentlemen, who came on the occasion, dined together in the library, with the Corporation.' " — *Ibid.*, pp. 444 — 446.

In elucidating the events of the first century, which closed with the death of Wadsworth, Mr. Quincy has naturally had recourse to such diaries as are extant, of the principal actors of the time, — particularly to those of the Mathers, Leverett, and Chief Justice Sewall, from all of which he has given large and entertaining extracts. He says of such records ;

" There is no class of men, to whom history is under so many obligations as to those, who submit to the labor of keeping diaries. On the one hand, they enjoy a great advantage over their contemporaries, by being thus enabled to tell their own story to posterity in their own way, when there are none living to explain or contradict ; yet, on the other hand, nature establishes for this advantage a compensation, in the fact, that they are often led, by vanity, passion, or inadvertence, to state facts and make records, which place their own characters and views, or those of their friends, in lights which they had carefully concealed from their contemporaries ; — views which the world, although it might have suspected, could not otherwise have made certain." — Vol. I. pp. 56, 57.

The last remark is very just. Vanity, passion, or inadvertence may prompt writers of diaries unconsciously to leave on record the materials for invalidating their own testimony. But on the other hand, that great advantage which the President remarks that " they enjoy over their contemporaries, by being thus enabled to tell their own story to posterity in their own way, when there are none living to explain or contra-

dict," is such as forbids a cautious historian to regard them as among his most trustworthy witnesses. We are not contemplating the tremendous cruelty of bequeathing to future times a private comment on contemporaneous events and characters, with recitals fabricated or falsely colored, to the end of disgracing a defenceless enemy in the eye of posterity. But it is clear that great injustice may be done in this way by the most upright men. No man's word is to be implicitly taken under such circumstances, whatever degree of intelligence and integrity we may attribute to him, unless, indeed, we are prepared to say that he possesses these qualities to such a degree as to be infallible. The writer of a diary puts down his present impressions, which may be materially erroneous for want of the explanations which a little more time may bring. Where friendships or dislikes are concerned, or questions of conduct are at issue, he makes his record under the influence of feelings which may bias him from the juster conclusions of a cooler hour. At all events, — for particular considerations are unnecessary, — if his testimony remains to be produced when he and they whom it may harm are no more, it is simply the testimony of a witness who cannot be cross-examined, against an accused who cannot speak for himself; a kind of evidence, which no acknowledged principle or process of justice approves. We have no doubt that the injustice of such records, prepared in perfect good faith, has often, at some later day, been as manifest to the writer's mind, as it could be to any other; and we have often heard a story told of an eminent individual of our own time, — which may well be true, and which, if true, is only another proof of his well-approved probity and candor, — that having written out a journal of the doings of a period of high party excitement, he was astonished, on recurring to it some years after, to find how unjust were representations which he had made with entire honesty of purpose and conviction of their truth, and that he lost no time in preventing it from doing harm hereafter, by committing it to the flames. Nay, in respect to what it might be thought most competent to reveal, — its writer's own motives, character, and acts, — such a record is by no means the credible witness that it might at first view be thought. There is many a man, rich in various other knowledge, who knows less of himself than others around him know. There is many a man, who, guiltless of any thought of making out a case for posterity, turns out but a poor casuist, when, alone

with his diary, having all the discussion to himself, he takes sweet counsel with pen and paper respecting the excellence of his purposes and doings.

Not only, therefore, do we not read without great distrust the journals of men like the Mathers, but we cannot yield ourselves without a grain of allowance, to those of President Leverett and Chief Justice Sewall, men than whom more honest never lived, but who, unfortunately, could not understand one another. It would be curious to see an account by the Mathers of the following passages between them and Sewall, described in the diary of the latter.

“ ‘1701. *October 20th.* Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkins's shop, and there talked very sharply against me, as if I had used his father worse than a negro. He spake so loud, that the people in the street might hear him.

“ ‘*Mem.* On the 9th of October I sent Mr. Increase Mather a haunch of very good venison.* I hope in that I did not treat him worse than a negro.

“ ‘*October 22d.* I, with Major Walley and Captain Samuel Checkley, speak with Mr. Cotton Mather at Mr. Wilkins's. I expostulate with him from 1 Tim. v. 1, “Rebuke not an elder.” He said he had considered that. I told him of his book, of the law of kindness for the tongue. Whether this was correspondent with that, or with Christ's rule. He said, that having spoken to me before, there was no reason for his speaking to me again. And so justified his reviling me behind my back. Charged the Council with lying, hypocrisy, tricks, and I know not what. I asked him, if this were with the meekness as it should be. He answered, Yes. Charged the Council in general, and then showed my share, which was my speech in Council, viz. “If Mr. Mather should go to Cambridge again, to reside, with a resolution not to read in the Scriptures, and expound in the Hall, I fear the example will do more hurt than his going thither will do good.” This speech I owned. I asked, if I should suppose he had done something amiss in his church, as an officer, whether it would be well for me to exclaim against him in the street for it? (Mr. Wilkins would fain have had him gone into the inner room, but he would not.) I told him, I conceived he had done much unbecoming a minister of the Gospel; and, being called, I went to the Council. 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.’

* Sewall was rich. At his wedding, the father of the bride, John Hull, handed her into one of a pair of large scales, and proceeded to throw into the other, for a marriage present, as many “pine-tree shillings” as balanced her fair form, which tradition reports to have been none of the lightest.

“ ‘ *October 23d.* Mr. Increase Mather said to Mr. Wilkins, “ If I am a servant of Jesus Christ, some great judgment will fall on Capt. Sewall and his family.” ’ ”

“ ‘ *October 25th.* This day got my speech copied out, and gave it to Mr. Wilkins, that all might see what was the ground of Mr. Mather’s anger. Wilkins carried it to the Mathers. Writ out another, and gave it to Joshua Gee. I perceive Mr. Wilkins carried his to Mr. Mather. They seem to grow calm.’ ”
— Vol. 1. pp. 490, 491.

In respect to one interesting transaction in which Sewall and Leverett were in conflict, Mr. Quincy gives us both sides. It is curious to see these entombed passions of more than a century ago thus bursting their cerements ; and it teaches a lesson of charity. Each of these good men, it is clear, thought ill enough of the other on this occasion. If we of this day had only the story of one, we too should be tempted to think ill of the adverse party. If either account was to be preserved, it is lucky that it was not preserved alone. A comparison of them makes it evident, that while fault was imputed on both parts, there was no consciousness of fault on either, but rather of merit. It illustrates another point concerning the credibility of this class of records. Either Leverett was wrong in supposing the existence of a plot, — which it is plain he confidently did, — or else Sewall, who, if it existed, was a party to it, was insincere in suppressing all allusion to it.

“ ‘ When the President had read the above memorial, he delivered it into his Excellency’s hand, who discoursed in short in favor of it, and seemed to be ready to put it to vote. But Mr. Dudley prayed he might look upon it, to whom it was handed ; and while he was looking on it, there was an interval of silence. In which space Judge Sewall stood up, and said to this effect ; “ While we are considering to enlarge the College for receiving students, I desire to be informed how the worship of God is carried on in the Hall, and to ask Mr. President, whether there has not been some intermission of the exposition of the Scriptures of late.” The President, after a short pause, answered, “ that he thought the present business of the meeting was to be attended, and not to be interrupted by any surmise of a neglect in the administration of the affairs of the College, and that the place where the Overseers were now convened was not the proper place for such an inquiry. That if the Overseers, who are the visitors of the College, had any informations laid before them of omissions or neglects of duty, or maleadministration, by any of the persons that had the im-

mediate administration of the College in their hands, that the Overseers should make a visitation, and inquire into those matters upon the very place, either in the College Hall or Library." And the President added, "he did not expect such a question should have been moved at this time, in interruption of the business before the Overseers, and for considering and advising upon which this meeting was called ; and that he was surprised, and little expected such a treatment from the honorable person that moved it, having never once suggested any thing of his suspicion or apprehension of any failure in his duty from his Honor."

"His Excellency took up the matter, and declared, that the motion, whatever occasion there might be for it, though he knew none, was very improper, and altogether out of course ; and the whole board seemed to be of the same opinion, except Mr. Dudley, who, (it may be supposed, by concert with somebody, it may be then not present, contrived the interval of silence, by poring on the memorial, that so the zealous Judge might have the opportunity to make his impertinent, not to say, in him, invidious motion), raising his head and eyes from the paper he seemed to be intent in reading, said, — "he, for his part, seconded his Honor the Chief Justice's motion."

"However, this motion was put by, and the business of the meeting was reassumed. And yet sundry motions were made again by Mr. Dudley, tending to, if not designed for, a diversion ; but at length the question was put, Whether it be the mind of the Overseers of Harvard College, that the General Assembly be addressed to perfect the new building of a College in Cambridge to one hundred feet in length ? Which passed in the affirmative.' A Committee was then appointed to present the memorial to the General Court ; and a vote, in conformity with the motion of Judge Sewall was also passed, that 'the President shall entertain the scholars in the College with frequent expositions of the Scriptures.' " — Vol. I. pp. 221 — 223.

The above is Leverett's account of the scene. The following is Sewall's ;

"1718. *November 12th.* Overseers' meeting, to petition the General Court to make the College one hundred feet long. One calling for the memorial from the end of the table, I stood up and said, what the Honorable Commissioner had in hand was of great moment, but I apprehended there was an affair of greater moment. I have heard exposition of the Scriptures was not carried on in the Hall. I inquired of the President if it were so or no. Was silence a little while. Then the President seemed to be surprised at my treating him in this manner.

I did not use to do so. Neither did he use to treat me so. This complaint was made twice at least. Many spoke earnestly, that what was said was out of season. Mr. Attorney stood up and seconded me very strenuously. When I was fallen so hard upon, I said, I apprehended the not expounding the Scriptures was a faulty omission, and I was glad of that opportunity of showing my dislike of it. President said he had begun to take it up again. I said I was glad of it. At another time said, *that, if he was to expound in the Hall, he must be supported*. It went over. The memorial was voted. Then Mr. Belcher stood up, and moved earnestly, that exposition might be attended. At last Mr. Wadsworth stood up and spoke in favor of it, and drew up a vote, that the President should, *as frequently as he could*, entertain the students with expositions of the Holy Scriptures, and read it. I moved, that "*as he could*" should be left out, and it was so voted. Mr. President seemed to say, softly, it was not till now the business of the President to expound in the Hall. I said, I was glad the Overseers had now the honor of declaring it to be the President's duty.'

" 'November 13th. Mr. President spake to me again pretty earnestly, and intimated, it was not the President's duty before this order. I said, that it was a shame that a law should be required, meaning, *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges*.' " — *Ibid.*, pp. 494, 495.

If we begin to make extracts from the richly characteristic specimens furnished by Mr. Quincy of the diaries of the Mather's, we are in danger of being tempted too far. We covenant with ourselves to be content with the two following. President Mather had been abroad, and like so many others, in all times, had come back impatient of home. In England he had plenty of notoriety and consequence, and the remembrance of it haunted him the more, because of the diminished influence here, to which he felt that he had returned. To England he was very uneasy to go, and his son was as uneasy to have him, expecting himself to succeed to the empty presidential chair. Accordingly they both had inspirations upon the subject, which they were infinitely perplexed to reconcile with the course of actual events. Fast, and agonize, and intrigue as they might, the General Court were impracticable ; no money was to be had ; and President Mather had to grow old and die in his own Boston parish.

" ' 1693. *September 3d*. As I was riding to preach at Cambridge, I prayed to God, — begged that my labors might be blessed to the souls of the students ; at the which I was much

melted. Also saying to the Lord, that some workings of his Providence seemed to intimate, that I must be returned to England again ; and saying, " Lord, if it will be more to your glory, that I should go to England than for me to continue here in this land, then let me go ; otherwise not." I was inexpressibly melted, and that for a considerable time, and a stirring suggestion, that to England I must go. In this there was something extraordinary, either divine or angelical.'

" ' *October 29th.* As I was riding thither (to Cambridge), all the way between Charlestown and Cambridge I conversed with God by soliloquies and prayer. I was much melted with the apprehension of returning to England again ; strongly persuaded it would be so ; and that God was about to do some great thing there, so that I should have a great opportunity again to do service to his name.'

" ' *December 30th.* Meltings before the Lord this day when praying, desiring being returned to England again, there to do service to his name, and persuasions that the Lord will appear therein.'

" ' 1694. *January 27th.* Prayers and supplications that tidings may come from England, that may be some direction to me, as to my returning thither or otherwise, as shall be most for his glory.'

" ' *March 13th.* This morning with prayers and tears I begged of God that I might hear from my friends and acquaintance in England something that should encourage and comfort me. Such tidings are coming, but I know not what it is. God has heard me.'

" ' 1696. *April 9th.* This morning as I was reading in course Matt. viii. 13, it was with a strong hand impressed upon my spirit, as I had believed, that God would return me to England, and there give me an opportunity greatly to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, so it shall be done unto me. I was wonderfully melted with assurance that so it will be. And after that, again, as I was praying in my study. In the mean time the Lord help me diligently to improve my time, to do all the good I can in New England ; which, oh ! how little it is that I am capable of doing, because I want wisdom and grace.'

" ' *April 19th.* (Sabbath.) In the morning, as I was praying in my closet, my heart was marvellously melted with the persuasion, that I should glorify Christ in England. So again, as I was praying and using soliloquies with the Lord in my study between the public meetings.'

" ' *April 26th.* The persuasions which have been in my heart concerning that matter (going to England), I cannot help. They were wrought in me with fastings and prayings by the

Lord. Also on Lord's day, when I have been most in the Spirit ; and I have left that matter wholly with God.'

" ' *May 2d.* I was wonderfully affected this day with suggestions and impressions on my spirits, that tidings are coming from England which will revive me, and let me see, that my prayers are heard, and that my faith shall not suffer a disappointment.'

" ' *June 18th.* God has given me to see answers of prayer and faith, which I have made with respect to my having an opportunity to glorify Christ in England, shall not be disappointed. Bless the Lord, O my soul !' " — Vol. i. pp. 475, 476.

Such were the father's exercises. The following were some of the son's.

" ' 1700. 16th d. 4th mo. (Lord's day.) I am going to relate one of the most astonishing things that ever befell in all the time of my pilgrimage.

" ' A particular faith had been unaccountably produced in my father's heart, and in my own, that God will carry him unto England, and there give him a short but great opportunity to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, before his entrance into the heavenly kingdom. There appears no probability of my father's going thither but in an agency to obtain a charter for the College. This matter having been for several years upon the very point of being carried in the General Assembly, hath strangely miscarried when it hath come to the birth. It is now again before the Assembly, in circumstances wherein if it succeed not, it is never like to be revived and resumed any more. Sundry times, many times, when I have been spreading the case before the Lord, with a faith triumphantly exercised on his power and wisdom and goodness, I have had my assurances, that my father shall yet glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in *England*, renewed unto my amazement.

" ' But the matter in the Assembly being likely now to come unto nothing, I was in this day in extreme distress of spirit concerning it. My *flesh* indeed would be on all accounts imaginable against my father's removal from me. It will doubtless plunge me into ten thousand inconveniences. But my faith, on the other hand, having been so supernaturally raised for it, the thoughts of that's being wholly disappointed were insupportable. After I had finished all the other duties of this day, I did in my distress cast myself prostrate on my study floor before the Lord. Here I acknowledged my own manifold and horrible sinfulness, and my worthiness, by reason of that sinfulness, to be put off with delusions, and have a serpent given to me

when I asked and looked for the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, I, that am dust and ashes, and worthy to be made so by fire from Heaven, craved leave to plead with Heaven concerning the matter of the particular faith which had been wrought in my mind, as I thought by the Lord's own holy operation. I pleaded, that my Lord Jesus Christ had furnished me with his own glorious righteousness, and was now making intercession for me in the Holy of Holies, and because of his interest there I might approach to the most high God, with humble boldness, as to a prayer-hearing Lord. I spread before him the consequences of things, and the present posture and aspect of them, and, having told the Lord, that I had always taken a *particular faith* to be a work of Heaven on the minds of the faithful, but if it should prove a deceit in that remarkable instance which was now the cause of my agony, I should be cast into a most wonderful confusion ; I then begged of the Lord, that, if my particular faith about my father's voyage to England were not a delusion, he would be pleased to renew it upon me. All this while my heart had the coldness of a stone upon it, and the straitness that is to be expected from the lone exercise of reason. But now all on the sudden I felt an inexpressible force to fall on my mind, an *afflatus*, which cannot be described in words ; *none knows it but he that has it*. If an angel from Heaven had spoken it particularly to me, the communication would not have been more powerful and perceptible. It was told me, that the Lord Jesus Christ loved my father, and loved me, and that he took delight in us, as in two of his faithful servants, and that he had not permitted us to be deceived in our *particular faith*, but that my father should be carried into England, and there glorify the Lord Jesus Christ before his passing into glory ; that there shall be illustrious revenues of praise to the Lord Jesus Christ, from our *particular faith* about this concern, and that I shall also live to see it, and that a sentence of death shall be written on the effect and success of our *particular faith*, but the Lord Jesus Christ, who raises the dead, is the resurrection and the life, shall give a new life unto it. *He will do it ! He will do it !*

“ Having left a flood of tears from me, by these rages from the invisible world, on my study floor, I rose and went into my chair. There I took up my Bible, and the first place that I opened was at Acts xxvii. 23 – 25, “ There stood by me an angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, thou must be brought before Cæsar.” I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. A new flood of tears gushed from my flowing eyes, and I broke out into these expressions. “ What ! shall my father yet appear before Cæsar ! Has an

angel from Heaven told me so ! And must I believe what has been told me ! Well then, it shall be so ! it shall be so ! ”

“ ‘ And now what shall I say ! When the affair of my father’s agency after this came to a turning point in the Court, it strangely miscarried ! All came to nothing ! Some of the Tories had so wrought upon the Governor, that, though he had first moved this matter, and had given us both directions and promises about it, yet he now (not without base unhandsomeness) deferred it. The Lieutenant-Governor, who had formerly been for it, now (not without great ebullition of unaccountable prejudice and ingratitude) appeared, with all the little tricks imaginable, to confound it. It had for all this been carried, had not some of the Council been inconveniently called off and absent. But now the whole affair of the College was left unto the management of the Earl of Bellamont, so that all expectation of a voyage for my father unto England, on any such occasion, is utterly at an end.

“ ‘ What shall I make of this wonderful matter ? Wait ! Wait ! ’ ” — Vol. i. pp. 484 — 486.

To the administration of Wadsworth succeeded that of Holyoke, the longest, and one of the most prosperous, in the College history. He was elected in 1737, being then minister of a parish in Marblehead, and died in office in 1769. Soon after his accession, the excitement caused by the preaching of Whitefield swept through New England, and the College, in a published “ Testimony of the President, Fellows, and Tutors,” was brought into collision with that extraordinary heresiarch and his friends, — the last occasion on which it ever set foot on the field of religious controversy. In Holyoke’s time was laid the first American foundation of a Professorship, that of “ Hebrew and other Oriental Languages,” which was endowed by Thomas Hancock, a merchant of Boston, with the bequest of one thousand pounds sterling, and which, till within the present century, remained the only Professorship in the College, except the two previously instituted by Hollis, and three, in the faculty of Medicine, established immediately after the revolution. In 1763 another building, Hollis Hall, erected at the cost of £4800, was presented by the Province. And immediately after occurred the greatest calamity ever suffered by the College, in the destruction by fire of Harvard Hall, the original building, with most of its precious contents, including the entire library (which consisted of more than five thousand volumes), and

the whole apparatus of philosophical instruments. In consequence of the prevalence of the small-pox in Boston, the Legislature had been adjourned to Cambridge by Governor Bernard, when, at midnight on the 24th of January, 1764, the building was discovered to be in flames, communicated from a fire in the Library chamber, which was occupied by the Governor and Council, or from that in the room below, which was the place of meeting of the Representatives. The night was cold and stormy, and, it being vacation time, only three persons lodged in the College buildings. Massachusetts and Hollis Halls, as well as Stoughton Hall and Holden Chapel (the last two, gifts of private benefactors, which we have not mentioned,) also took fire, and were with difficulty preserved, by the exertions of the towns-people and of the magistrates, among which those of Governor Bernard were conspicuous. "The best library and philosophical apparatus in America, comprising the collections and donations of more than a century, utterly perished."

The efforts made to repair this terrible desolation, constitute one of the most honorable chapters in the history of the College or of the Province. The Legislature, on the following day, resolved unanimously to rebuild Harvard Hall at the public cost, appointing a committee of their own body to superintend the work. The plan was furnished by Governor Bernard.

"The Corporation and Overseers were not less faithful to the interests of the seminary. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson and Dr. Chauncy were the chairmen of the committees raised in both boards to set forward subscriptions, and solicit assistance from all persons disposed to aid in repairing the losses the seminary had sustained. Letters were addressed by these committees to Jasper Mauduit, the agent of the Province in England; to Thomas Hollis, the third benefactor of that name; to Dr. Avery, chairman of the committee of Dissenters, and to others, 'desiring their interests with their respective friends in favor of the College.' In America, besides special agents, the clergy of all denominations were appointed to receive donations in money or books; and all the Overseers who had correspondents abroad, or influence at home, were enjoined to use their friendly offices to obtain benefactions. These exertions of the guardians of the seminary were attended with a success equally gratifying and unprecedented. To enumerate all the benefactors, who appeared on this occasion would be to

record the names of almost every individual of wealth and public spirit in the Province. To name only the most distinguished would be to make discriminations in a case, where the amount was often regulated by want of means, and not of disposition. Some subscribed books ; others, articles of philosophical apparatus ; others, money.

“ In Great Britain the spirit of place, or of party, had no influence upon the spirit of sympathy, and the subscriptions were equally liberal. Thomas Hollis, emulating the liberal disposition of his uncle, subscribed at once four hundred pounds sterling, to be divided equally between the library and the apparatus. Among the English Dissenters, Harvard College had, at all times, been the object of munificent patronage, and the names of many individuals, distinguished among them for influence and intellectual power, stand high on the list of benefactors, by appearing in this hour of her distress. The Episcopalians, also, unmindful of the jealousies, at that moment in active excitement against them in the Province, and of the asperities to which they had been exposed, gave honorable evidence of their catholicism and charity. The Archbishops, both of Canterbury and York, subscribed, and used their influence in its favor. Their donations, and those of other members of the Episcopal church, were gratefully acknowledged by the Corporation, and their names placed in the library of the seminary, over alcoves, which their liberal and catholic spirit had filled with books.

“ In June, 1764, Governor Bernard, accompanied by the committee appointed by the General Court to rebuild Harvard Hall, laid the corner-stone of the building, and in June, 1776, it was completed, at an expense of twenty-three thousand dollars. In a few years, by the concentrated efforts and influence of individuals and the Provincial government, a library was collected, which soon acquired an extension corresponding to the increase and prosperity of the colonies.” — Vol. II. pp. 114–116.

The long summer day of Holyoke's administration closed as brightly as it had begun and proceeded. He had not been without some share of official vexations and embarrassments, but they were no more than were sufficient to show his power to conquer them and bring good out of them ; and his death at the age of eighty, leaving the College in a condition of stability, popularity, and distinguished usefulness, was felt to be a loss which could scarcely be repaired.

The administration of the next President, Locke, of whom high hopes were entertained, was closed by his resignation,

after three years, in consequence of some private misconduct. To him, in 1774, succeeded Samuel Langdon, minister of Portsmouth. The times were now out of joint. In the following year, the College buildings were occupied by the American army. The library and philosophical apparatus were deposited for safe keeping at Andover, and the College removed to Concord. It had not got fairly settled again in its old quarters, before General Heath wanted them for the prisoners of Saratoga ; and, after some fruitless negotiation, in consequence of a peremptory order from that officer, the students, in November, 1777, were again dispersed to their homes. Between politics and roving, the ingenuous youth of the College were of course no very promising subjects of either instruction or discipline ; and the President, though an able and worthy man, proving deficient in some elements of what is called *the spirit of government*, had failed to secure that respect on their part, which was necessary to control the unsettled habits of the times. Stimulated in their disaffection by some officers of the College, they held a meeting, adopted resolutions, and addressed a memorial to the Corporation, charging him with “ impiety, heterodoxy, unfitness for the office of preacher of the Christian religion, and still more for that of President.” Amazed and broken-spirited, he resigned forthwith, which he had no sooner done, than they met again, and with equal heartiness voted just the opposite of what they had voted before, with the exception only of the clause relating to fitness for the Presidential chair. He lived seventeen years longer, and died pastor of a church at Hampton Falls, in the year 1797, having in the mean time exerted an important political influence in New Hampshire, and, as a leader in the debates of its Convention for considering the Federal Constitution, rendered valuable service in obtaining its assent to that measure.

Conscientious, faithful, and competent, in most respects, to all common occasions, as President Langdon was, he was not of a constitution to thrive in a long storm ; and for him, as for the apostle, not only without were fightings, but within were fears. Chosen to his place as an eminent son of liberty, he was destined to have trouble, more than enough, with a stouter scion of the same stock. The long letter to Hancock which he wrote, or which he signed, relating to the course of that distinguished individual as Treasurer of the

College, moves at once respect for the propriety and ability of its argument, and a strange sort of pity and surprise that such a body as the Corporation should have been reduced to use such a tone, on such an occasion. The Corporation thought they had done a great thing for themselves and the College, in persuading John Hancock to take the charge of its strong-box in 1773. The following year, met the first Provincial Congress, and in the year after, the Continental Congress, of both which bodies he was successively a member and President. Under these circumstances, no one can blame or wonder that his mind was more upon other things than upon the College's books and bonds, or the tutors' salaries.

But tutors could not live without bread, nor could bread be had without money; debtors would not pay without receipts; nor could books or property be taken care of without somebody to keep them. When more than a year had passed since his election, the Corporation asked their Treasurer, then in Boston, for some account of the state of their funds, and got no answer. They renewed the application when public business was about to call him away from town, and with the same pleasing success. Learning that he was about to go to Philadelphia, upon that hint they spake yet again, and were then informed that he was "busily engaged," but would "soon appoint a day to attend the business." A fortnight having elapsed, they held a meeting, and requested his presence. He sent an excuse, and promised "to lay his accounts before them by the middle of next week." That week passed, and some others after it, and the Corporation addressed to him a letter expressing their "unhappiness at being disappointed as to the promised settlement; they knew his patriotic exertions in his country's cause, and were willing to allow much for this plea of delay, but it was their duty to be solicitous for the seminary; they were accountable to the Overseers and the world." Much good may their solicitude do them, thought the Treasurer, and after informing them that he left "all his matters in the hands of a gentleman of approved integrity," — who it was, they appear to have been left to guess, — away he went to Philadelphia. In March, 1776, went on an humble and truly moving representation of the distress daily suffered by the College, for the cause complained of, and after a while another, expressing the hope that "Mr. Hancock will not be offended at a renewal of the earnest re-

quest to hear from him speedily, and know what may be done in such a situation of College affairs." To this, after a month, they got a reply, with the information that he had just sent off a messenger "in a light wagon, with orders to bring all his books and papers across the country to Philadelphia from Boston." Horror of horrors ! The books and papers of Harvard College on their way to Philadelphia, in a light wagon, through a country which might be the seat of war ! To Philadelphia however they went, and how to get them back again was now the question. The Overseers took it up, and appointed a Committee of gentlemen of the highest consideration, — Bowdoin, and others, — to attend to it. Under their advice, the Corporation commissioned a Tutor to proceed in quest of the precious *strays* to Philadelphia, Baltimore, or wherever else the Continental Congress, and its President, might be. He came back luckily with the papers, but still with no settlement of accounts, nor statement of the balance in the Treasury. The Corporation at length, in 1777, under the recommendation of the Overseers, worked their courage up to the pitch of supplying the derelict place by the election of another Treasurer. In 1780, Hancock was chosen Governor of Massachusetts ; but though the politician was, for the rest of his life, less busy, the Treasurer was equally impracticable. As Governor, he would preside with his immovable urbanity, at the board of Overseers, and hear his successor's report recite, that "it is not known what sums the late Treasurer received and paid, his accounts being still unsettled." To make a long story short, Hancock, having in 1785 announced his intention to retire from the Chief Magistracy, settled his accounts, acknowledging a debt of a little more than one thousand pounds. But still it was such a satisfactory settlement as is made by a note on demand, from a person whose ear for such demands is that of the adder. The Corporation never saw their money till two years after they had attended Hancock's funeral, in 1793. Then his heirs paid it, principal and simple interest.

This story, — merely amusing now, though suited rather, near the time, to "ope the sacred source of sympathetic tears," — President Quincy recites at length. Why not ? If great people, of their own high pleasure, without right or reason, will insist on keeping other people's money, the least they can expect is that, by and by, somebody will tell of them.

John Hancock was not a whit the more nor the less a zealous and efficient friend to the patriotic movement of the Revolution, because of his wayward treatment of the College. He was not the first person, who, under the perilous influences of such a position, has demeaned himself unsuitably, nor will he in all probability, be the last. There was not the remotest idea of any embezzlement. He was but the exquisite despiser of a tailor's bill, who asks what such impudent duns would have, — whether it is not enough, that he gives them his patronage ; do they think he means to cheat them ? he will pay when he is ready. Rather, he was the big boy, who, having pocketed the little boy's marbles, answers his request for their restitution with the comfortable inquiry, whether he will have them now, or wait till he can get them. If Hancock had happened to be in perfectly good humor when the College's first application was made, or if it had happened to suit his convenience perfectly to attend to it at once, it is probable that there would not have been the slightest difficulty. But as to being urged to do such a thing at any time but his own, that was out of the question. A mission like George Fox's to convert the pope, or a proposal to General Jackson to put back the deposits, would have been about as promising an overture. Was he, the young, rich, glorious President of Congress, idol of the people, selected object of royal vengeance, — he, the goddess of liberty's own Adonis, — to be badgered by some fusty gownsmen into sitting down to figure up their paltry accounts ? It were better, if he had done so, no doubt ; or, — what would have been the same thing, — if he had allowed some clerk to do it. But what if he did not ? The history which convicts him of such omission does not rob him of a patriot's fame. It remains not a whit the less true, that his services and sacrifices in the cause of the country were most material in kind and amount ; and a certain wantonness and wilfulness have always, from the beginning of time, been pardoned to popular leaders, and probably will be, to its end. The better for them, that it is so, as far as their consideration is concerned, though the worse, as respects the completeness of the example which it is desirable they should bequeath to a grateful posterity. At all events, no rhetorical patriot needs to disturb himself with the fear, that all which Mr. Quincy has recorded of Hancock's protervity will rob of its slightest grace what uses to be justly said in his praise, in the Fourth of July orations.

With all its good purposes of keeping up with the *spirit of the age*, the College, it seems, was somewhat tenacious of its ancient customs, at least to the end of the time through which we have as yet traced its history. It was as late as about the period of the breaking out of the Revolution, that, the Overseers having recommended a discontinuance of the custom of sending Freshmen on errands, the Corporation voted, that, "after deliberate consideration and weighing all circumstances, they are not able to project any plan in the room of this long and ancient custom, that will not, in their opinion, be attended with equal if not greater inconveniences." The relations then sustained by these unhappy fags to their superiors, and by those superiors to one another, may be partly inferred from the spirit of a few regulations of the ancient code.

"1. No Freshman shall wear his hat in the College yard, unless it rains, hails, or snows, provided he be on foot, and have not both hands full.

"2. No Undergraduate shall wear his hat in the College yard, when any of the Governors of the College are there; and no Bachelor shall wear his hat when the President is there.

"3. Freshmen are to consider all the other classes as their Seniors.

"4. No Freshman shall speak to a Senior with his hat on; or have it on in a Senior's chamber, or in his own if a Senior be there.

"5. All the Undergraduates shall treat those in the Government of the College with respect and deference; particularly they shall not be seated without leave in their presence; they shall be uncovered when they speak to them or are spoken to by them.

"6. All Freshmen (except those employed by the Immediate Government of the College) shall be obliged to go any errand (except such as shall be judged improper by some one in the Government of the College) for any of their seniors, Graduates or Undergraduates, at any time, except in studying hours, or after nine o'clock in the evening.

"7. A Senior Sophister has authority to take a Freshman from a Sophomore, a middle Bachelor from a Junior Sophister, a Master from a Senior Sophister, and any Governor of the College from a Master.

"8. Every Freshman before he goes for the person who takes him away (unless it be one in the Government of the

College,) shall return and inform the person from whom he is taken.

“ ‘ 9. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall make any unnecessary delay, neglect to make due return, or go away till dismissed by the person who sent him.

“ ‘ 10. No Freshman shall be detained by a Senior, when not actually employed on some suitable errand.

“ ‘ 11. No Freshman shall be obliged to observe any order of a Senior to come to him, or go on any errand for him, unless he be wanted immediately.

“ ‘ 12. No Freshman, when sent on an errand, shall tell who he is going for, unless he be asked ; nor be obliged to tell what he is going for, unless asked by a Governor of the College.

“ ‘ 13. When any person knocks at a Freshman's door, except in studying time, he shall immediately open the door without inquiring who is there.’ ” — Vol. II. pp. 539, 540.

As late as 1734, “ the right of punishing undergraduates by ‘ boxing ’ was deemed so essential to discipline, that the exercise of it was expressly reserved to the President, Professors, and Tutors ; ” and more than twenty years later, the Corporation could only be brought so far to experiment upon it, as to suspend its execution for one year. As to the old respect for dignities, it is said by pupils of President Willard, whose administration extended into the present century, that, when the wig and cloak that enclosed him were seen floating through the College grounds, not even a Professor was ever discerned by his side.

President Willard, Langdon's successor, was inducted into office, December 19th, 1781. The resources of the College were at this period sadly straitened by the depreciation of the currency. So sore was the evil, that in 1786, no less than three fifths of the capital were found to have been sunk. Down to the time of this administration, the College's dependence chiefly for the President's support, and partly for that of the Professors, had always been upon annual grants of the Legislature. In 1786 was made the last provision from this source for the salary of any officer. Meanwhile, the excellent thrift of the Corporation had done something towards placing them in an independent position ; the confidence, on which they had proceeded, in the ultimate victory of a sense of justice in the national counsels, was rewarded in the results of that decisive measure of Hamilton,

the funding of the public debt ; and in 1793, the Treasurer was enabled to report the personal estate of the institution, as amounting to a sum of more than one hundred and eighty-two thousand dollars.

From the point to which we have now accompanied his narrative, Mr. Quincy properly declines pursuing it as in the earlier chapters. He says ;

“ The history of Harvard University has now been brought down to our own times ; to a period too near to be viewed in just historical perspective. Henceforth it will therefore be restricted to an outline of events, and, in each successive presidency, attention will be principally directed to the nature and objects of the Professorships established or enlarged. The legislative patronage granted and the changes in the studies, discipline, and finances, which have occurred, will be stated, and accompanied by such facts and illustrations as will give a comprehensive view of the progress, present state, and resources of the institution.” — Vol. II. p. 258.

Accordingly, while rich details are given of the course of such events, the full history of three administrations preceding Mr. Quincy's own, — those of Willard, Webber, and Kirkland, — remains to be written. In treating of that of Willard, the most *salient* event of which was the establishment of the Medical School, with a Faculty of three Professors, — the future historian will have satisfaction in dwelling on the facts, which will enable him to confirm his respectful tribute to a learned, good, and strong-minded man, and to faithful, well-judged and successful endeavours to raise the institution from a condition of great embarrassment and disorder to one of eminent prosperity and usefulness. In the short sway of President Webber, — transferred from the mathematical chair to the Presidency in 1806, and removed by death in four years after, — he will have to recognise a just, firm, and discreet official course, which, if in so brief a space it produced few striking results, left nothing, either in action or omission, for censure or regret. The establishment, by private benefactors, of two new professorships, those of Natural History, and of Rhetoric and Oratory, — the first incumbent of the latter being the present venerable ex-President Adams, — were the principal events of that time. John Thornton Kirkland succeeded to the vacant Presidency in 1810, and exercised the office eighteen years. This period, he who

shall write of it hereafter will have occasion to describe as, in comparison with any which had preceded it, the day of the College's greatness and splendor ; and he will delight in doing large justice to the claims on the veneration and gratitude of later times, of its controlling mind, — a mind of rare endowments, set off by a character of the most impressive and winning virtue, — and in illustrating its beneficent influence as well on the tastes, sentiments, and pursuits of the surrounding community, as on the immediate subjects of its guidance.

By the help of President Kirkland, and of the admirable company of which he was the central light, the liberal objects of an instructed people's regard and ambition assumed a new position in the society about him. The enthusiasm of the young for all that is best worth living for, was excited and informed. A glory became connected with the name of scholar, which revived an intense feeling of other times. A sense of what it is that adorns and exalts a commonwealth was imparted to those able to promote that end, and bore its fruits in what we presume to be an extraordinary private patronage of learning. We have just read in an English newspaper of the Queen Dowager's "munificent gift" of two thousand pounds sterling to a fund for bishops in the colonies, and of those of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Bishop of London, amounting each to half that sum. These were princely gifts, and they were made from princely revenues. Boston was a town, consisting, during the eighteen years of which we speak, of about fifty thousand inhabitants, — mostly professional men, mechanics, and merchants ; and the private gifts made or now known to have been bequeathed during that time to Harvard College (principally contributed from that city, though there were liberal patrons in other places), amounted to not less than four hundred thousand dollars ; of which sum five Bostonians gave twenty thousand dollars or more, each, and one (the late Governor Gore) gave a hundred thousand ; while the Commonwealth made its addition of ten thousand dollars a year for ten years. With the aid of such liberality from without, and such ability within, every thing about the College assumed an improved appearance. The means of instruction were enlarged to meet the greatly increased resort of students, and its methods reformed to suit the higher tastes which had come to prevail, and the higher objects which were contemplated. New professorships were founded, and men

of eminent gifts, ornaments, in their several spheres, to the rising literature of the country, were attracted to fill them. The Schools of Law and Divinity were founded, and thus the outline of a University filled up. Four new costly edifices were erected. The Law, Medical and Theological libraries were instituted, and the General Library was increased to nearly double its size, while arrangements were introduced for increasing its usefulness by extending its advantages to a greater number of persons, and by keeping it constantly open to those who desired to resort to it for study. A cabinet of Mineralogy was obtained, and those in the Medical department, and that of Natural Philosophy were greatly enriched. These are fruits or tokens of singularly successful public service, capable of being specified. Others, less definite and less appreciable, were not, however, of less worth. Nearly one quarter part of all whom the College has reared, from its foundation to the present time, were pupils of President Kirkland. There is not, probably, an individual of their number, who does not think of him and his influence with a tender and grateful veneration. If a rare sagacity and wisdom, coupled with a disinterestedness still more uncommon, and constituting thus a combination of singular efficiency for useful influence and action,—if these entitle a man to be kindly and honorably remembered, the name of Kirkland is not one of those that men will willingly let die.

Dr. Kirkland died in Boston, April 26th, 1840, twelve years after his resignation of the presidency. The Corporation took appropriate notice of that event, adopting measures for the government and students of the University to take part in the tribute of respect arranged by his pupils, and offering the use of the public rooms at Cambridge for the commemorative services.

A fact stated by President Quincy will surprise many, who have been accustomed to regard the pecuniary resources of the University as the gift rather of public than private liberality. It is, that the whole “productive estate” now held by the institution, — that is, the property yielding a revenue towards its maintenance, — “may with sufficient accuracy be regarded as the result of private munificence, or of the wise management of the Corporation, in successive periods.” What the public has given is either now represented by fixtures, as some of the buildings, or else has been applied in such

expenditures that, in respect to money investment, (though not in respect to the attainment of proper objects) it has perished in the using. The President by no means suppresses or slurs over the record of what the Colonial, Provincial, or State Legislature has actually done; but the following is his statement of the facts, as far as relates to the first seventy years.

“In respect to grants of money, the patronage of the General Court, during this first period of seventy years, certainly never exceeded, and there is no known documentary evidence, that it ever equalled, the annual payment of £ 100 until the year 1673, and that of £ 150 during the subsequent years of this period. These payments, with the income of the Ferry, were the only resources of the institution of a permanent character, for the support of the President and officers. The deficiency was made up by assessments on the students. With the exception of this annual stipend, there is no evidence of grants of money, or even transfers of rates, except at times, when the treasury of the Colony actually possessed an amount greatly exceeding such grant or transfer, received from private donations, on account of the College. During that whole period its officers were dependent for daily bread upon the bounty of the General Court. They always stood before the Court in the attitude of humble suppliants, destitute of the power even to enforce their rights; and found, by bitter experience, how miserable is he who hangs on a sovereign's favor, be that sovereign one or many, prince or people.

“In respect to grants of land, the General Court, in 1652, gave to the College eight hundred acres, and in 1653, two thousand acres. Both grants failed. In 1658 the Court attempted to indemnify the College for this loss, by granting to it two thousand one hundred acres of land, being, as they thought, a part of their share of the plunder accruing from their victory over the Pequods. The Colony of Connecticut, however, claimed these lands as their own portion of the spoils, and dispossessed the College of them; and it is not known or believed, that the College obtained any thing from that grant. In 1683, the General Court made another attempt to patronize the College by a grant of one thousand acres of land at Merriconeage. This grant, however, had the fate of its predecessors. The College gained nothing by it, but a lawsuit and a judgment disaffirming its title. During the first seventy years, the College derived no aid from the General Court towards the erection of its buildings or the increase of its funds, in consequence of any grant or donation. These were altogether the result of individual munificence. So that the whole bounty of that body,

during this entire period, was limited to the annual payment, at first, of £ 100, and afterward £ 150, as above stated, and the income of the Ferry.

“ Neither does it anywhere appear that the original grant of £ 400 was ever specifically paid. As far as can now be ascertained, the above annual grants were deemed a sufficient fulfilment of that vote.” — Vol. i. pp. 40, 41.

Again ; as to the next period, ending with the time of the discontinuance, in 1786, of annual grants towards the support of the President and Professors.

“ In 1707, when Mr. Leverett consented to accept the presidency, the General Court fixed his salary at £ 150 per annum. In 1711, President Leverett received an additional grant of £ 30, increased afterwards annually to £ 40, and once to £ 50. Subsequently to the year 1719, these additional grants are not mentioned on the records of the General Court. But, on the supposition that they were continued, it may be stated, with sufficient accuracy, that during the whole presidency of Leverett, the grants to that officer, from the legislature, (including the grant of £ 30, made in 1727 to his daughters,) never exceeded two hundred, and probably did not average the sum of one hundred and eighty pounds a year.

“ On the accession of Mr. Wadsworth, in 1726, the salary of the President was fixed at £ 400, by the General Court ; of which £ 40 were to be derived from the rents of Massachusetts Hall, and £ 360 from annual grants. It may be stated, perhaps, with perfect accuracy, that this last sum was the amount of these grants during the whole of his presidency.

“ Soon after the accession of Holyoke, in 1737, annual grants were not only made to the President, but were occasionally extended to the Professor of Divinity, and the Instructor in Hebrew, and, after the middle of the century, to the Professor of Mathematics. From the uncertainty of the time when these grants commenced, from the variation in value of the paper currency, and the imperfection of the records, the difficulty of approximating to a satisfactory estimate of their exact amount is extreme. About the middle of the century they became generally regular ; namely, to the President £ 250, to the Professor of Divinity £ 100, to the Mathematical Professor £ 80, and to the Hebrew Professor £ 20. But these sums were occasionally varied during the last years of Holyoke’s administration ; the grants to the President were diminished, and those to the other officers increased, leaving the total amount the same. It may, therefore, be confidently stated, that during the whole presidency of Holyoke, the aggregate of grants to all the College officers never exceeded, and probably

fell very far short, of four hundred and fifty pounds a year ; and this sum may be regarded as the general rate of grants to these College officers, until the adoption of the Constitution of Massachusetts, in 1780.

“ These annual grants were voted expressly as ‘ gratuities ’ to the officers designated ; of consequence, they never entered into the College treasury, nor appeared on its books. They added nothing to the permanent funds of the institution, were occasionally varied, according to the view taken of its other resources, and were always graduated on a scale which would enable those officers and their families merely to exist. The amount was, in effect, annually repaid to the community by an equivalent reduction of assessments on the students.

“ The College is indebted to the bounty of the legislature of the Province for Massachusetts and Hollis Halls, and for one thousand pounds, lawful money, towards building a President’s house ; and to its sense of justice, for Harvard Hall.

“ In the eighteenth century, the only lands given by the Province to the College, were reservations, in grants of new townships, made with a view to the future advantage of the institution. Thus, in the year 1719, two hundred and fifty acres were reserved by the General Court, for Harvard College, ‘ in each of the two townships on the westerly side of Groton,’ afterwards called Townsend and Lunenburg. Between the years 1762 and 1774, rights were also reserved to the College in twenty-five townships, lying in the eastern part of Maine, some between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, others east of Saco River. In twenty-three of these townships one sixty-fourth was thus reserved, and, in the remaining two, one eighty-fourth part. These reservations were estimated at 12,500 acres, and were intended as some indemnity for the loss of the College library by fire in 1764, which the rebuilding of Harvard Hall did not compensate. The value of these lands, at the time of the grants, it is not easy, at this day, to ascertain. It is only known that townships in that part of Maine were then and afterwards sold from nine pence to one shilling an acre. Many years elapsed before any benefit was received from these reservations, and the College was deprived of some of them. Townsend was afterwards included within the bounds of New Hampshire, and, as an indemnity, a reservation was made, in 1771, in another township. But with many of the other reservations, made in favor of the College by the provincial legislature, it was finally lost, the lands being regranted by the legislature of Massachusetts, after it became a state, without any regard to the College reservations.

“ We have thus recapitulated, with as much exactness as the

nature of the subject admits, all the grants, donations, and reservations made by the General Court, in favor of the College, during the Colonial and Provincial times of Massachusetts." — Vol. II. pp. 226 – 230.

Further, as to later times ;

" The legislative patronage of the College, after the peace of 1783, was limited and equivocal. In 1785, the General Court regranted fourteen of those eastern townships, in which the provincial legislature had made reservations in favor of the College without any provision for the rights accruing from those reservations. In 1787, the Corporation memorialized the legislature on the injustice of this proceeding, and remarked, ' that, while the citizens of the State have, in all instances where they have lost lands which have been granted by the Court, from a deficiency of title, received grants in lieu thereof, the College has been ousted of, or has not had laid out, at least *six thousand acres* of land, which had been granted by the provincial General Court. They reflect with peculiar grief at the omission of the grants of land in fourteen townships between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers, as it seems to be pointedly aimed at them, the College having done nothing, of which they are sensible, to merit this punishment ; on the contrary, it has suffered immensely, at different periods, in the funds, rather than run counter to the designs of the government as to the paper currency.'

" The directness and urgency of this memorial had no influence at the time. But in June, 1790, a more just spirit actuated the members of the General Court, and they passed a resolve, which ' granted and confirmed to Harvard College three hundred acres of land,' in each of the townships within which reservations had been made in its favor by the provincial legislature.

" In March, 1785, the College was also divested of its right to the Ferry between Boston and Charlestown, the most ancient of all the colonial grants, by the erection of the ' Charles River Bridge.' The legislature, indeed, provided that the grantees, during the term of forty years, should pay the College £ 200 a year ; but the bridge, at the end of the term, was to become the property of the Commonwealth, ' saving to the said College a reasonable and annual compensation for the annual income of the ferry, which they might have received, had not said bridge been erected.'

" Although an annuity was more convenient than the receipt of incomes from the ferry, yet £ 200 was no fair equivalent in

value for the rights devested. The Corporation, as the records prove, had maintained the ferry for nearly one hundred and fifty years, with great trouble and often with little emolument, in the anticipation, that its revenues would increase, in proportion to the population of the country. During the period between 1775 and 1781, the ferry had been supported at an actual loss ; £ 300 had just been expended in repairing the ferry-ways, and the College was beginning to receive £ 200 annual rent, with an apparent certainty of a great annual increase. At this moment, the General Court established the bridge, and limited the future income of the College from this source, to the exact sum it was then annually receiving, thus depriving it of that increasing revenue, which the legislature of 1640 intended it should receive in all after times.

“ In the year 1792, on passing the act establishing West Boston Bridge, the interests of the College were so far regarded by the legislature as to provide for the payment to it of an annuity of £ 300, (which in a short time was reduced to £ 200,) during the term of forty years, appropriating it to ‘ the defraying the tuition of indigent scholars, or for the reducing the expense of tuition to all the other scholars,’ according to the judgment of the Corporation. In 1796, this appropriation was varied, and applied to the support of permanent tutors ; and, in 1800, a discretionary power was vested in the Corporation in respect to its application.

“ By the above act of 1792, the rights and privileges granted in 1785, by the act authorizing the erection of ‘ Charles River Bridge,’ were extended to the proprietors, from forty to seventy years, and for the same lengthened period the annuity was made payable to the College ; but the clause, ‘ saving to the said College at the end of the term a reasonable and annual compensation for the annual income of the ferry, which they might have received had not said bridge been erected,’ was omitted. But how valueless would have been this saving clause against power and interest, the history of the present times demonstrates, in which the bridge itself has been destroyed by the effect of legislative enactments, passed with an entire disregard of the provisions of the acts of 1785 and 1792, and also of the ancient vested rights of the College.” — Vol. II. pp. 270 – 273.

In 1794, the General Court renewed the grant of a lottery, which had been made by the Provincial Legislature, for the purpose of enabling the College to erect an additional building. At a cost of nearly twenty-five thousand dollars, three quarters of which were supplied from this source,

Stoughton Hall was erected in 1805. In 1806, the same operation, not yet discreditable and outlawed, was again authorized, and yielded twenty-nine thousand dollars, the greater part of which was expended upon a new structure, Holworthy Hall. In 1814, the fourth year of President Kirkland's administration, the Commonwealth made its only direct grant of money since 1786, by passing "An Act for the Encouragement of Literature, Piety, Morality, and the Useful Arts and Sciences," which gave to Harvard College, from the avails of a tax on banks, ten thousand dollars annually for ten years, one fourth part of the same being appropriated "towards the partial or total reduction of the tuition fees of such students, not exceeding one half the whole number of any class, who may apply therefor, according to the judgment of the Corporation." The College, thus enriched, proceeded to erect University Hall, and the Medical College in Boston, at an aggregate expense of more than eighty-six thousand dollars, while thirty-three thousand dollars more were applied to the increase of the Library and of the Philosophical and Chemical apparatus, and to various repairs and improvements in the College buildings and grounds. It was too confidently expected, that, though at a late stage of the progress of the act just referred to, towards enactment, a limitation of time had been introduced, the act would be renewed and made permanent at the expiration of the specified ten years.

The public has done very much for the College from first to last. Without doubt one might say, not without fair show of reason, that, looking to its own advantage, it would have done well to abound yet more, and to keep a more even pace with private liberality. But what it has omitted, more or less, might be more easily forgotten, were it not for the haunting memory of one thing that it has done. Here, in an item of the Treasurer's annual account presented to the Overseers in January, 1841, is the record of the fate of that ancient grant of the ferry across Charles River, to which relate some statements in the last extract above. Here is the epitaph of the Commonwealth's last surviving helper in the carrying on of Harvard College.

"For amount of Charles River Bridge Annuity,
on account of which nothing has been received
for several years past, now *written off*, \$11,111.11."

That dismal record on the wrong side is set down, alas ! in another account book besides the Treasurer's, even the fair, clear, incombustible ledger of History ; and as long as History shall keep her books, there is no possible way to set such a matter right, and show a balanced page, but by an equivalent counter-entry. The Massachusetts people, it is true, are one thing, and the Massachusetts legislators of this or that year, another. The latter may do a wrong, which the former, when they look at it, may abhor. But if, abhorring, they do not take care in their own good time to redress it (redress being possible,) the sheriff will be after them too, when sentence comes to be pronounced in the high court of a sternly just posterity. Might never makes right, but for the duration of one age. The sense of right that rises up in the next is much mightier ; and the whipped craven of injustice crouches as helpless under the well-bestowed lash as he had just now towered secure and insolent.

We conclude our disconnected remarks by simply saying, that, — in common, we suppose, not only with other friends of the College, but with numerous others whose tastes prompt them to look into a curious chapter of American history, — we acknowledge great obligations to President Quincy for the pleasure and instruction derived from his volumes. We expected to find in them the authentic results of diligent research, and accordingly a valuable contribution to the completeness of existing aids to an acquaintance with the men and doings of the ancient times. But we confess we did not expect to find them so fruitful in entertainment, and in materials for engaging and profitable, as well as (to a patriot) complacent, reflection. We did not expect to see a record of the fortunes of a single institution of learning, taking the place, which this seems to us destined to take, among works in historical literature. Unless our interest in its central subject affects our judgment to a degree hardly to be supposed, it is not a book to be welcomed and enjoyed by the friends of Harvard College alone, nor by either of the small classes of New England, or of academical, antiquaries, but one which will sustain permanent claims on the attention of the general student of history.
